IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA ATLANTA DIVISION

DONNA CURLING, ET AL., Plaintiffs,

v.

Civil Action No. 1:17-CV-2989-AT

BRIAN KEMP, ET AL., Defendants.

DECLARATION OF LONNA RAE ATKESON IN SUPPORT OF MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION

LONNA RAE ATKESON declares, under penalty of perjury, pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, that the following is true and correct:

1. My name is Lonna Rae Atkeson. I am a professor of political science at the University of New Mexico and the Director of the Center for the Study of Voting, Elections, and Democracy. I submit this Declaration in support of Plaintiffs Donna Curling, Donna Price, and Jeffrey Schoenberg (the "Curling Plaintiffs").

I. Background and Qualifications

2. I am a professor of political science at the University of New Mexico.

I earned my PhD at the University of Colorado, Boulder in 1995. Since 1995, I

have been employed by the University of New Mexico and have been a professor since 2006. At the University of New Mexico, I also direct the Center for the Study of Voting, Elections and Democracy (since 2010) and the Institute for Social Research (since 2016).

3. I study election science, election administration, survey methodology, public opinion, political behavior, gender, and race and ethnicity. I have written or co-edited four books, two of which bear directly on my expertise in election administration. The first is a co-authored book with R. Michael Alvarez and Thad Hall entitled, Evaluating Elections: A Handbook of Methods and Standards (Cambridge, 2013). The second is a co-edited book on election audits, entitled Confirming Elections: Creating Confidence and Integrity through Election Audits (Palgrave, 2012). I also have written over 50 articles and book chapters, dozens of technical reports, monographs, amicus curiae briefs, and other works on these topics. Many of my peer-reviewed articles are published in top journals in my field, including The American Political Science Review, The American Journal of Political Science, The Journal of Politics, Political Analysis, Electoral Studies, Election Law Journal, Political Research Quarterly, American Politics Quarterly, Political Behavior, Social Science Quarterly, etc. Several of my articles, book chapters, reports, and briefs speak specifically to the election ecosystem, including

election implementation. Since 2006, I have spent countless hours observing elections from start to finish, including attending poll worker training, observing voting, observing the absentee voter process, the provisional process, chain of custody, post-election audits, and more, which has resulted in evaluative public policy reports. In 2010, I recreated an election to test the reliability of voting machines and to assist in promulgating rules for post-election audits.

¹ These include: Lonna Rae Atkeson & Wendy L. Hansen, The 2016 Bernalillo County Election Administration Report, University of New Mexico (2017), https://polisci.unm.edu/common/c-sved/papers/2016-bernalillo-county-electionupdated-report.pdf; Lonna Rae Atkeson, et al., The 2014 Bernalillo County Election Administration Report, University of New Mexico (2015), https://polisci.unm.edu/common/c-sved/papers/2014-bernalillo-county-nmelection-administration-report.pdf; Lonna Rae Atkeson, Lisa A. Bryant & Alex N. Adams, The 2012 Bernalillo County Election Administration Final Report, University of New Mexico (2013), https://polisci.unm.edu/common/csved/papers/2012-bernalillo-county-elections-administration-report.pdf; Lonna Rae Atkeson, et al., Assessing Electoral Performance in the New Mexico 2010 General Election, University of New Mexico (2011), https://polisci.unm.edu/common/csved/papers/nm-2010-general-election.pdf; Lonna Rae Atkeson, et al., The City of Albuquerque 2009 Mayoral Election Administration Report, University of New Mexico (2010), https://polisci.unm.edu/common/c-sved/papers/nm-abq-2009mayor-race.pdf; Lonna Rae Atkeson, R. Michael Alvarez & Thad E. Hall, Assessing Electoral Performance in New Mexico using an Eco-system Approach: Combined Report 2008, University of New Mexico (2010), https://polisci.unm.edu/common/c-sved/papers/nm08pew.pdf; Lonna Rae Atkeson, et al., The New Mexico Election Administration Report: The 2006 November General Election, University of New Mexico (2007), https://polisci.unm.edu/common/c-sved/papers/the-2006-election-administrationreport.pdf.

- In addition, I have worked as a consultant for the Department of 4. Defense, Federal Voting Assistance Program (F-VAP), and private companies to assess the Election Administration Voting Survey (EAVS), a national survey of county and state election administration data for the Election Assistance Commission (EAC). I have testified at legislative hearings and EAC hearings, and have been asked to advise legislators on election reforms. My work in New Mexico that partners with local and state elected officials to improve the conduct of elections has led to a number of external awards from non-partisan groups such as Common Cause and Verified Voting. My research has been supported by the National Science Foundation (NSF), the Pew Charitable Trusts, the Thornburg Foundation, the Galisano Foundation, the JEHT Foundation, Bernalillo County, the New Mexico Secretary of State, and the New Mexico Department of Transportation. I am regularly asked to comment on surveys, election administration, elections, and American politics to the local and national press. I also serve as the election analyst for KOB-TV.
- 5. My curriculum vitae is attached as **Appendix A**, including a list of all publications that I have authored in the last ten years. I am being compensated at my standard hourly rate of \$200. My opinions are not in any way contingent on

the outcome of this litigation, nor do I have any personal financial interest in the outcome of this election.

II. Statement of Inquiry

- 6. I have been retained as an expert by the Curling Plaintiffs in the above-captioned matter. My task was to consider the feasibility of Georgia moving from its current DRE-based system for in-person voting to a 100% paper ballot system in time for the 2018 general election. To determine the feasibility of such a move, I considered the current Georgia system as described in the declarations and briefs filed during this lawsuit and publicly available resources, including Georgia statutes and poll worker training materials, in addition to my expertise and experience as a scholar of elections, election science, and election administration.
- 7. Fundamentally, the state of Georgia has an existing paper ballot system in place, in addition to its system using direct-recording electronic (DRE) voting machines. The current absentee-by mail process need only be expanded and some contingency plans need to be in place to assist voters with the change in process—and more paper ballots need to be available at the polls during in-person early voting and on Election Day than historically have been available. In my opinion, this is achievable in time for the November 2018 election because (1)

those systems are already in place and, (2) other states have transitioned to paper ballots of one type or another (all mail-in balloting or mostly paper ballot using optical scan devices in the voting location or some other auditable system) also in relatively short order.

8. For example, in 2006 New Mexico transitioned to paper ballots and optical scan tabulators after its June primary in time for its November general election. After several problems were identified in the DRE machines in the 2002 and 2004 elections, New Mexican election activists in 2005 filed a lawsuit to end the use of electronic voting machines that do not provide for a voter verifiable and auditable paper trail. In 2005 New Mexico mandated that voting systems include a paper trail.² In 2006, during the legislative session New Mexico legislators passed a bill to move to a statewide optical scan paper ballot system in time for the federal 2006 general election.³ New Mexico was the first state that moved from a predominantly electronic voting system to one that mandated optical scan paper ballots statewide, with the intent of providing a paper trail so that elections could

² New Mexico Senate Rules Committee Substitute for Senate Bills 678, 680, 718 & 735, 47th New Mexico Legislative Session First Legislative Session (2005), https://www.nmlegis.gov/Sessions/05%20Regular/bills/senate/SB0718RUS.pdf.

³ New Mexico Senate Bill 0295, 47th New Mexico Session Second Legislative Session (2006), https://www.nmlegis.gov/Sessions/06%20Regular/final/SB0295.pdf.

be audited for accuracy and to provide an environment that would promote greater voter confidence, and they did it very quickly.⁴

9. In addition, the state of Virginia recently decertified their DRE machines, forcing 11 counties to convert within only eight weeks⁵ to paper ballot systems.⁶ These included a range of small and large counties, including Chesapeake County, which has 160,258 registered voters in it.⁷ All counties were successfully able to purchase and administer the new equipment, and one county-

⁴ Lonna Rae Atkeson, R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall, *Assessing Electoral Performance in New Mexico using an Eco-system Approach: Combined Report 2008*, University of New Mexico (2010), https://polisci.unm.edu/common/c-sved/papers/nm08pew.pdf.

⁵ Byron Tau, *Virginia Ends Use of Touch Screen Voting Machines*, Wall Street Journal (Sept. 11, 2017), https://www.wsj.com/articles/virginia-ends-use-of-touchscreen-voting-machines-1505167555; Jane Alvarez-Wertz, *Paper Ballots Make a Return Across Virginia*, WAVY.com (Nov. 7, 2017), https://www.wavy.com/news/paper-ballots-make-a-return-across-virginia 20180326073312686/1078263546.

⁶ Some cities in Virginia encompass the entire county and essentially creating a city/county government. The counties included are: Chesapeake County, Gloucester County, Lee County, Norfolk City, Portsmouth City, Poquoson City, Rappahannock County, Russell County, Surry County, Tazewell County, and Martinsville.

⁷ Data for Chesapeake and other counties in Virginia come from the Election Administration Voter Survey, sponsored by the Election Assistance commission. Data are available at: https://www.eac.gov/research-and-data/2016-election-administration-voting-survey/.

equivalent, the independent city of Martinsville, rented equipment in order to meet election deadlines.⁸

- 10. Nothing in the Defendants' submissions to the Court offers any basis to conclude that Georgia cannot also make this transition.
- feasible to implement before the general election this year. There is no basis to conclude that this is the case. First, paper ballots are no more confusing than the touch screen, computerized voting ballots available with DREs. Second, under the proposed approach, all registered voters would receive a ballot at their current registered address, thereby greatly simplifying the relative costs to vote in these elections as well as reducing the numbers of voters voting in-person on Election Day while likely increasing voter turnout overall. Voters would have multiple means of voting in the upcoming election: (1) mail-in absentee voting using the ballot mailed to them, (2) in-person voting using paper ballots during the early voting period, and (3) in-person voting using paper ballots on Election Day. States that have transitioned to all mail balloting, such as Washington, Oregon, and

⁸ See Va. Dep't of Elections, List of Localities that have Informed... (2017), https://www.elections.virginia.gov/Files/CastYourBallot/VotingSystems/new-equipment-2017.pdf.

Colorado, have generally seen increases in voter turnout and generally not experienced the disenfranchising circumstances the Defendants speculate may befall voters in Georgia. There is no basis to conclude that merely expanding the existing paper ballot system in Georgia would render voters throughout the state worse off than being forced to vote on DRE machines, which election security experts as well as federal and state authorities across the country have found to be inherently unreliable and therefore unsuitable for U.S. elections. In fact, it is my opinion that doing so will benefit voters across the state by reasonably protecting their votes against interference aimed at disenfranchising them through potential hacking of the voting systems and altering ballots and candidate election totals. For

⁹ For a discussion of all-mail voting, *see* Dylan Lynch, *All-Mail Elections (aka Vote-By-Mail)*, National Conference of State Legislatures (Aug. 15, 2018), http://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/all-mail-elections.aspx.

¹⁰ For example, see Andrew Menger, Robert M. Stein, and Greg Vonnahme, Turnout Effects from Vote by Mail Elections, available at: https://static1.squarespace.com/static/599b81d8e6f2e1452a4955ea/t/599bb45446c 3c42867a1a535/1503376469774/Turnout+Effects+from+VBM+Elections.pdf; Alan S. Gerber, Gregory A. Huber & Seth J. Hill, Identifying the Effect of All-Mail Election on Turnout: Staggered Reform in the Evergreen State, Political Science Research Methods 1(1): 91-116 (2013); Amelia Showalter, Utah 2016: Evidence for the Positive Turnout Effects of 'Vote at Hoe' (also known as Vote by Mail) in Participating Counties (2018),

https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/ef45f5_fcc651c4d4f1456b8340bb4c2cc0ca12.pdf.

¹¹ See Halderman Decl., Dkt. No. 260-2; Buell Decl., Dkt. No 260-3.

some voters, like the Plaintiffs in this case, it will greatly enhance their confidence in the integrity of Georgia's elections and the validity of the results.

12. Finally, Defendants' briefs and declarations note that other systems also are vulnerable to errors, for example, the hand counting process. However, the errors produced in these processes are inherently random in nature, not favoring any specific candidate or party. Hacking, on the other hand, of votes or voter systems are meant to produce bias, and give the election to certain candidates over other candidates, undermining our election system and the democratic process.

III. Feasibility

13. The question at hand is to determine the feasibility of moving from a system that predominantly relies on in-person voting with DRE voting machines to one that predominantly relies on paper ballots in the remaining time before the election. Two important considerations bear heavily on this determination: (1) the current, DRE-based system is inherently unreliable and must be replaced; and (2)

¹² Results from our audit experiment suggest that hand counting errors and machine errors are random in nature. *See*, Part 2: Post-Election Audit Review *at* Atkeson, Lonna Rae. R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall. 2010. "Assessing Electoral Performance in New Mexico using an Eco-system Approach: Combined Report 2008," University of New Mexico, at 50, Available at: https://polisci.unm.edu/common/c-sved/papers/nm08pew.pdf.

the Curling Plaintiffs' proposed approach is embedded in processes that Georgia has already well-tested: the use of paper absentee and provisional voting. The Defendants' submissions do not appear to address either of these important considerations. Regarding the first consideration, the Defendants do not respond to the expert opinions of Professors Alex Halderman and Duncan Buell, nor do they offer any expert opinions of their own regarding the reliability of the current DRE-based system. Regarding the second consideration, the Defendants do not fully consider the feasibility of using current practices for absentee by-mail elections and apply them to the 2018 election context, instead they focus on why it may not be feasible.

- 14. The proposed order granting Curling Plaintiffs' motion for preliminary injunction outlines their specific proposals for expanding the existing paper ballot systems in Georgia in lieu of DREs for the 2018 election cycle:
 - to mail, by September 18, 2018, to all registered Georgia voters a return-by-mail absentee ballot that is pre-addressed, with pre-paid postage, for return to the appropriate election authority¹³;

¹³ I would move this date to September 22, 2018, to be consistent with the federal 45-day rule, which states that federal ballots must be sent to overseas voters 45 days before the election. This law was put into place when Congress amended the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (UOCAVA). September

- to include with each absentee ballot mailed to all Georgia voters an accompanying cover letter, to be approved by the Court, containing instructions to fill in the enclosed mail-in paper ballot and encouraging voters to vote absentee in light of the serious security risks inherent to DRE machines and the inability to verify the election results produced by those machines due to the lack of any paper record to audit the results;
- consistent with OCGA 21-2-418(b), OCGA 21-2-418(c), OCGA 21-2-418(h), and OCGA 21-2-419(a), to have sufficient paper ballots in supply at each polling place for all reasonably anticipated, registered in-person voters in each precinct; and
- to make available at each polling place at least one voting system equipped for individuals with disabilities, which may include EAC-certified AutoMARK® ballot-marking devices, to ensure compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act and Help America Vote Act. As a last resort, Defendants may include paperless DRE voting units for voters with disabilities if Defendants find that to be the only practicable method to

²² thus is the date by which localities are required under federal law to have paper ballots ready for sending and voting.

ensure compliance with federal law in advance of the November 2018 midterm election;

potential path forward and how the state of Georgia could accommodate the move to paper ballots in time for the upcoming 2018 federal general election. I consider the following: (1) funding, (2) voter education campaign, (3) absentee-by-mail voting, (4) training, (5) security, (6) and ballot counting.

A. Resources and Funding

- 16. First, moving to an all paper election will require perhaps some additional resources, as well as perhaps a diversion of current resources to tasks necessary to distribute and count ballots. However, the state of Georgia was recently granted \$10,821,072 in Help America Vote funds (HAVA) that are meant to be used to enhance election security. Specifically, 2018 HAVA funding is meant to 15:
 - a) Replace voting equipment that only records a voter's intent electronically with equipment that utilizes a voter verified paper record;

¹⁴ See https://www.eac.gov/2018-hava-election-security-funds/ for state amounts.

¹⁵ Ibid for spending criteria.

- b) Implement a post-election audit system that provides a high level of confidence in the accuracy of the final vote tally;
- c) Upgrade election related computer systems to address cyber
 vulnerabilities identified through Department of Homeland Security,
 or similar scans or assessments of, existing election systems;
- d) Facilitate cybersecurity training for the state chief election official's office and local election officials;
- e) Implement established cybersecurity best practices for election systems; and
- f) Fund other activities that will improve the security of elections for Federal office.
- 17. Given that the Curling Plaintiffs' proposed approach is clearly consistent with the above-stated goals, equipment purchases or rentals, temporary help, costs of printing ballots, and other election-related costs to ensure a verifiable paper record of each elector's votes are within the criteria for the nearly \$11 million Georgia received for that very purpose. New HAVA money is specifically related to states' security interests and can specifically be used to "replace voting equipment that only records a voter's intent electronically with equipment that utilizes a voter verified paper record." The money used to transition this election

will be invested in processes and equipment that the state can use in the future as it formally alters its voting system to reduce vulnerabilities in 2020 and beyond.

also be used to help to implement a largely all-mail election and there are costs that can be diverted from anticipated expenditures to new ones, especially costs related to the logic and accuracy testing of DRE machines, their programming, and training associated with the DRE machines. Thus, there is no basis to conclude that the capital and human resources are not available to succeed in moving to paper ballots for the 2018 Georgia election cycles.

B. Voter Education Campaign

19. A strong voter education campaign on the change to paper ballots and the implications for voters would be important and reasonably easy to implement. Under the Curling Plaintiffs' proposals, voters' first direct point of contact with the new process would be through the mail when they are automatically sent a paper ballot. Included with the ballot would be a letter explaining the change and encouraging the voters to vote by mail. In addition, voters would be alerted that they could drop their ballots off at specific locations defined as absentee ballot clerk offices or the voter registrar. Voters could also be told that they can go to specific early voting and Election Day voting locations for assistance with putting

their absentee ballot package together. These offices will also be provisional ballot polling stations so that voters who have lost or destroyed the ballots that were mailed to them will still be eligible to cast a paper ballot.

- 20. Information about the move to all paper elections would also easily and inexpensively be available on state and local election-related websites. State and local election officials should also consider obtaining voter hotlines to assist voters in locating absentee-by-mail drop-off locations for those who prefer that approach, and to help voters navigate the absentee-by-mail process, to the extent needed.
- 21. Of course, the change would be picked up by local and national media, who would also help to get the message out. In addition, election activist groups also can be expected to respond to help ensure that voters are aware of the changes and what those would mean for voting in the 2018 elections.

C. Absentee Ballot Process

22. Under the current absentee ballot process in Georgia, voters currently request a "no-excuse" absentee ballot and are sent an absentee ballot, which they must return or hand deliver by the end of Election Day. Georgia's "Absentee Voting: A Guide for Registered Voters" indicates that: "A ballot must be received

by the county registrar no later than the close of polls on Election Day. Delivery can be either U.S. first class mail or hand delivered by the voter."¹⁶

23. To accommodate the all-paper election measures proposed by the Curling Plaintiffs, local election officials (LEOs) in Georgia will need to expand their current operation to encompass all voters and add return postage to the outer envelope that also shows the pre-preprinted address to the county registrar or county absentee ballot clerk. This will take some processing changes and the addition of postage, which could be pre-printed stamps, a BRM envelope, or regular postage. To accomplish this task, additional help should be available from regular staff that counties already employ to assist in the election process and/or new, low-cost temporary hires. Some current designated workers likely can be diverted from other aspects of the process that no longer need attending to because of the absence of DRE machines including: training on DRE machines, staff that program DRE machines, staff that are involved with the logic and accuracy testing of DREs, and perhaps poll workers who will no longer be needed in precincts, etc., because of the likely significant reduction of in-person voting on Election Day (without decreasing overall voter turnout).

¹⁶ See Georgia Absentee Voter Guide available at: http://sos.ga.gov/admin/uploads/Absentee_Voting_A_Guide_for_Registered_Vote rs_v1_20141.pdf.

- 24. Because all registered voters will be mailed a ballot, the process for obtaining and printing ballots is just an extension of the work that LEOs are already performing. LEOs already have to prepare paper ballots in all the ballot styles/formats available in their respective counties; and they have to make those available to voters who request them, including local absentee voters, UOCAVA voters, and at the polls to provisional voters on Election Day.¹⁷ Therefore, there is no extra work in the preparation of paper ballot styles/formats, or the requirement that they be available at the polling places on Election Day, as the Defendants have suggested. The only change is in the volume printed. Given the large number of printing vendors across the country, and the relatively short time it takes to print, generally, LEOs should be able to obtain enough ballots to accommodate all of the 6.5 million voters registered in Georgia. Although the Defendants speculate that this is not feasible, nothing in their submissions offers any basis to conclude that this is the case.
- 25. Traditionally, voters voting by mail-in ballot are required to include cover postage themselves, but under the Curling Plaintiffs' proposals, all voters

¹⁷ Federal laws requires states and localities to have ballots ready for uniform and overseas voters 45 days before the election, see: https://www.fvap.gov/info/laws/uocava. This is reflected in Georgia statutes, (Ga. Code Ann., § 21-2-384).

would receive a paper ballot with a pre-paid postage, self-addressed return envelope. The simplicity of this approach, coupled with no cost to the voters, likely would substantially increase the number of voters in the 2018 election. Therefore, the Defendants' concerns about disenfranchisement are without merit.

26. In addition, LEOs could provide early voting drop-off locations so that voters have alternatives to the U.S. Postal Service. Counties have early voting centers, which could be redefined as absentee ballot clerk offices, to allow voters to drop off their absentee ballots, should any prefer to hand deliver their ballots. 18 Having both drop-off locations and mail services should provide many sufficient, easily-usable opportunities for voters to participate in the upcoming 2018 elections. Some voters may prefer to vote in person during the early voting period or on Election Day. Again, those voters still could use the paper ballot mailed to them. They need only complete it and drop it off at one of the locations available to them. This would be much simpler, easier, and faster than voting in person on DRE machines. For those voters that prefer the experience of voting in person, they could complete the ballots received in the mail at the location where they would drop the ballots off or vote provisionally.

¹⁸ According to Georgia statutes absentee by-mail ballots can only be mailed or hand delivered to the board of registrars or the absentee ballot clerk (Ga. Code Ann., § 21-2-385).

- 27. Some voters may lose, destroy, or make mistakes on their ballots received in the mail and need a replacement. Other voters might need assistance putting their paper ballot kits together. Early voting centers and Election Day voting centers or precincts readily serve such voters. At these locations, voters would be either given a second absentee-by-mail ballot kit, which they can vote there, or be processed as provisional voters, which provides similar inner and outer envelopes to the absentee ballot process. Georgia already has rules that pertain to the processing of absentee and provisional ballots that can be adapted to ensure the security of the election process.¹⁹
- 28. Voters who would want to fill out their ballot at in-person voting locations would need reasonable privacy. Although professional voting booths and privacy sleeves are the primary way that voters who use paper ballots maintain their privacy, I have seen many low-tech, low-cost operations that can afford the same amount of privacy much cheaper. For example, any sort of cardboard placed across long tables that separate voters works. Trifold boards (like those that are used for school science projects) or cardboard boxes cut in half easily separate voters and afford them the needed privacy to vote. In addition, a small physical separation between voters could also afford enough distance to maintain privacy.

¹⁹ For example, see Ga. Code Ann., § 21-2-386.

For example, placing chairs back-to-back and about three feet from each other could provide privacy and clip boards could be given to voters for a hard surface in order to select their vote choices by hand. These are just some readily available options. I am confident that experienced LEOs will be able to come up with additional alternatives.

29. Finally, voters who need assistance would follow standard practices for voter assistance as provided in existing Georgia voter statutes. The Curling Plaintiffs propose that each polling location be equipped with an AutoMARK® that allows disabled electors to vote paper ballots.

D. Training

30. Training of the poll workers would need to focus on processes that they are already trained on, such as helping voters and receiving and recording ballots mailed in, dropped off, or completed in person at a voting location. Of course, there would be no need to train poll workers on how to use the DRE machines, saving substantial time and resources. Therefore, the only training will be in relation to the absentee and provisional vote process and how to handle absentee ballot drop off. Because Georgia law already provides for ballots to be mailed in, dropped off, or completed in person, rules, policies, and practices must already be in place to handle these types of voting. Because many voters would

likely choose the free mail option, thereby reducing the typical activities in the polling locations on Election Day, the number of poll workers in the field could likely be significantly reduced and the remaining workers likely could assist in the processing of in-person paper ballots.

E. <u>Handling Paper Ballots</u>

- 31. Security is a critical component of all elections. Ballot security in the form of paper ballots is already in place within Georgia's voting system through the absentee-by-mail process that they have already designed and through the use of provisional ballots at early and Election Day voting locations. Thus, the Curling Plaintiffs' proposed approach would require extending the current chain of custody procedures for provisional ballots to ballots that are dropped off at early and Election Day voting locations, as well as paper ballots that are completed at those locations. Indeed, Georgia already allows voters to drop off their ballots instead of mailing them; thus it must already have chain of custody measures in place for these types of ballots as well.²⁰ Extending this operation is just a matter of volume; the process itself must already be in place and validated.
- 32. One issue raised by Defendants is that they will have to have all voter styles on hand at every early and Election Day location for each respective county.

²⁰ See Ga. Code Ann § 21-2-385 and § 21-2-386.

For large counties with many ballot styles, this could be handled with the use of ballot-on-demand (BOD) systems that are already used for this purpose or through the rental and purchase of additional ones. Alternatively, a lower tech, lower cost option is file cubbies that identify each ballot style organized in some categorical way. Before BOD systems became available, I observed several elections where this procedure was operationalized and worked efficiently. Of course, given that voters would be receiving a ballot in the mail, the number of ballots that would have to be produced and available in this way would likely be relatively low.

F. Ballot Counting

33. All ballots of course will have to be counted. There are multiple ways this could be done effectively and efficiently. The most obvious would be to feed them through optical scan readers. The Defendants speculate that the volume of tabulators the counties currently have is insufficient to handle the volume of anticipated ballots in a timely manner. A 2014 Kennesaw State University Center for Election Systems presentation suggests that the state has as many 621 optical scan tabulators that could be deployed across the state to handle the demand.²¹ Small counties likely already have sufficient scanners that could accommodate

²¹ The Georgia Voting System, February 2014, Kennesaw State University, Center for Election Systems.

their needs under the Curling Plaintiffs' proposal. For medium-to-large size counties that do not already have sufficient scanners, optical scan vendors are available to provide for sale or lease²² high-throughput speed readers that can process up to 300 ballots a minute and sort them into multiple bins (counted, write-in, and "requires further review").²³ Unfortunately, a full analysis of the processing time is not available, as Defendants did not provide data about the processing capacity and availability by individual Georgia counties, nor attempt to analyze this data themselves. Nevertheless, the HAVA resources provide ample funding to meet the costs. This would have the added benefit of moving Georgia away from its current, reportedly outdated equipment to more current and robust systems.

34. Georgia law allows LEOs to begin counting qualified ballots as early as 7:00 AM on Election Day. LEOs should begin the counting process as soon as possible to ensure that all ballots are counted in a timely manner. There is no basis to conclude that this timeframe would be too short to timely complete ballot counting under the election measures proposed by the Curling Plaintiffs.

²² I note that Martinsville, Virginia was able to rent equipment for its recent state elections.

²³ See https://www.essvote.com/products/13/2/digital-scan-tabulators/ds850/

35. Newer optical scans are well-programmed to handle ballot markings, and therefore, problems with ballots should be minimal. Nevertheless, some relatively small number of ballots likely would not be able to be processed, as no doubt already occurs under Georgia's current systems involving paper ballots. Georgia could apply its current standards, using three people to make new readable ballots, or it could rely on a hand count that consists of only two people. Research shows that two-person counting teams and three-person counting teams produce largely the same outcomes.²⁴ Other options also likely would be available; election districts across the country handle these types of problems in a variety of ways.

IV. Conclusion

36. In summary, it appears that the state of Georgia already has the means to run an all-paper election that relies predominantly on mailed ballots with inperson options for the relatively few voters who lose, destroy, or make mistakes on their ballot or who are disabled and need assistance. While it is true that this will take some work to implement, the procedures and processes are already in place to succeed, and the change will avoid significant work and expense required for the

²⁴ See Atkeson, Lonna Rae, R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall, Lisa A. Bryant, Yann Kereval, Morgan Llewyllen, David Odegaard. 2009. "The 2008 New Mexico Post Election Audit Report," available at: http://polisci.unm.edu/common/documents/c-sved/papers/nm08pew.pdf

current DRE-based system. Importantly, resources provided by recent HAVA funds should provide the funding necessary to cover the costs of this change, and resources that would normally go to the operation of the DRE-based system could be diverted to support the all-mail election.

37. New HAVA money is specifically related to security interests within states and can specifically be used to, "replace voting equipment that only records a voter's intent electronically with equipment that utilizes a voter verified paper record." Therefore, the money used to transition this election would be invested in processes and equipment that Georgia could use in the future as it formally alters it process to create a more reliable system for 2020 and beyond.

I declare under penalty of the perjury laws of the United States that the foregoing is true and correct and that this declaration was executed this 20th day of August, 2018 in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

By:

Lonna Rae Atkeson

Appendix A

Lonna Rae Atkeson Curriculum Vitae **July 2018**

Department of Political Science MSC05-3070 1 University of New Mexico Albuquerque, NM 87131-0001 E-mail:atkeson@unm.edu

ACADEMIC and ADMINISTRATIVE APPOINTMENTS:

| 2006-Present | Professor, University of New Mexico |
|--------------|--|
| 2018-Present | Associate Editor Political Analysis |
| 2017-Present | Board Member MIT Election Data Science Lab |
| 2016-Present | Director, Institute for Social Research, University of New |
| | Mexico |
| 2010-Present | Director, Center for the Study of Voting, Elections and |
| | Democracy, University of New Mexico |
| 2001-2006 | Associate Professor and Regents Lecturer, University of |
| | New Mexico |
| 1995-2001 | Assistant Professor, University of New Mexico |
| | |
| EDUCATION: | |

E

| 1995 | Ph.D., Political Science, University of Colorado, Boulder |
|------|--|
| | Dissertation Title: Divisiveness or Unity? Reassessing the |
| | Divisive Nomination Hypothesis in the Presidential Selection |
| | Process (Chair: Professor Walter J. Stone) |
| | |

Summer 1990 ICPSR Summer Training in Quantitative Methods for Social Science Research, University of Michigan.

BA, Political Science, University of California, Riverside 1987

BOOKS:

- Atkeson, Lonna Rae, R. Keith Gaddie and Jan E. Leighley. Under contract. *Polls and Politics*. Oxford University Press.
- R. Michael Alvarez and Lonna Rae Atkeson. 2018. Oxford University Press Handbook on Polling and Polling Methods. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Lonna Rae Atkeson and Thad E. Hall. 2013. *Evaluating Elections: A Handbook of Methods and Standards*. Cambridge University Press.
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Lonna Rae Atkeson and Thad E. Hall (Editors). 2012. Confirming Elections: Creating Confidence and Integrity Through Election Auditing. Palgrave.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae and Cherie D. Maestas 2012. Catastrophic Politics: How Extraordinary Events Redefine Perceptions of Government. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

PEER REVIEWED ARTICLES:

- Alvarez, R. Michael, Lonna Rae Atkeson, Ines Levin, and Yimeng Li. Forthcoming. "Paying Attention to Inattentive Survey Respondents," *Political Analysis*.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae and Brian T. Hamel. Forthcoming. "Fit for the Job: Candidate Qualifications and Vote Choice in Low Information Election," *Political Behavior*. DOI:10.1007/s11109-018-9486-0.
- Kerevel, Yann and Lonna Rae Atkeson. 2017. "Campaigns, Descriptive Representation, Quotas and Women's Political Engagement in Mexico," *Politics, Groups and Identities* (4): 454-477.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae & Cherie D. Maestas. 2016. "Primary Turnout 1972-2016," PS: Political Science & Politics 49(4): 755-760.
 - Associated Blog: "Atkeson, Lonna. 2016. "Primary Turnout and the Importance of Party Position." *Mischiefs of Faction*. Vox.com. Available at: http://www.vox.com/mischiefs-of-faction/2016/3/24/11301108/presidential-primary-turnout"
- Gurian, Paul-Henri, Nathan Burroughs, Lonna Rae Atkeson, Damon Cann, and Audrey Haynes. 2016. "National Party Division and Divisive State Primaries in US Presidential Elections, 1948-2012," *Political Behavior* 689-711.

- Kerevel, Yann and Lonna Rae Atkeson. 2015. "The Effect of Disconfirming Stereotypes on Perceptions of Female Political Leaders in Mexico," *Political Research Quarterly* 68: 732-44.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae, R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall. 2015. "Trust in Elections and Trust in Government: Why Voter Confidence Differs from Other Measures of System Support," *Election Law Journal* 14(3): 207-219.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae, R. Michael Alvarez, Andrew Sinclair, Thad E. Hall. 2014. "Balancing Fraud Prevention and Electoral Participation: Attitudes Toward Voter Identification." *Social Science Quarterly* 95(5): 1381-98.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae, Yann Kerevel, R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall. 2014. "Who Asks for Voter Identification?" *Journal of Politics* 76(4): 944-57.
 - Associated Blog: "Poll Workers Rely on their own Attitudes and Beliefs to Determine How to Apply Voter ID Laws" The LSE US Center's Daily Blog on American Politics and Policy (available at: http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/usappblog/2014/08/20/poll-workers-rely-on-their-own-
 - http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/usappblog/2014/08/20/poll-workers-rely-on-their-own-attitudes-and-beliefs-to-determine-how-to-apply-voter-id-laws/)
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae, Alex N. Adams, and R. Michael Alvarez. 2014. "Nonresponse and Mode Effects in Self and Interviewer Administered Surveys," *Political Analysis* 22(3): 304-320.
 - Associated Blog: Improving Survey Methodology a Q&A with Lonna Atkeson(available at: https://blog.oup.com/2014/08/improving-survey-methodology-q-a-with-lonna-atkeson/)
- Kerevel, Yann and Lonna Rae Atkeson. 2013. "Explaining the Marginalization of Women in Legislative Institutions." *Journal of Politics* 75(4):980-993.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae, Lisa A. Bryant, Alex N. Adams, Luciana Zilberman, Kyle L. Saunders, 2011. "Considering Mixed Mode Surveys for Questions in Political Behavior: Using the Internet and Mail to Get Quality Data at Reasonable Costs." *Political Behavior* 33:161-178.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae, Lisa Bryant, Thad Hall, Kyle L Saunders and R. Michael Alvarez. 2010. "New Barriers to Voter Participation: An Examination of New Mexico's Voter Identification Law." *Electoral Studies* 29(1):66-73.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae and Cherie D. Maestas. 2009. "Meaningful Participation and the Evolution of the Reformed Presidential Nominating System," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 42(1):59-64.
 - Reprinted in *Current Controversies: Federal Elections*, Volume 1, Gale/Cengage Learning (Greenhaven).

- Maestas, Cherie D. and Lonna Rae Atkeson, Lisa Bryant, and Thomas Croon. 2008. "Shifting the Blame: Federalism, Causal Attribution and Political Accountability Following Hurricane Katrina," *Publius* 38(4): 609-632.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae and Timothy Krebs. 2008. "Press Coverage in Mayoral Elections: Is there a Gender Bias?" *Political Research Quarterly* 61 (2): 239-53.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae & Lori Tafoya. 2008. "Surveying Political Activists: An Examination of the Effectiveness of a Mixed Mode (Internet and Mail) Survey Design." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 18(4): 367-386.

BOOK CHAPTERS. MONOGRAPHS:

- Atkeson, Lonna Rae and Alex N. Adams. Forthcoming. "Mixing Survey Modes and Its Implications," in the *Oxford University Handbook on Polling and Polling Methods*, edited by Lonna Rae Atkeson and R. Michael Alvarez, Oxford University Press.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae and Wendy L. Hansen. 2017. "Campaign Finance in US Politics: An Era without Limits," in *Changing How America Votes*, edited by Todd Donovan, Rowman & Littlefield.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae. 2014. "Election Data Transparency," in *The Measure of American Elections*, edited by Barry Burden and Charles Stewart III, pp. 271-298, Cambridge University Press.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae. 2014. "Voter Confidence Ten Years after Bush V. Gore," in *Election Administration in the United States: The State of Reform after Bush V Gore*, edited by R. Michael Alvarez and Bernard Grofman, Cambridge University Press.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae, R. Michael Alvarez and Thad E. Hall. 2012. "The New Mexico Pilot Project," in Confirming Elections: Creating Confidence and Integrity through Election Auditing, edited by R. Michael Alvarez, Lonna Rae Atkeson and Thad E. Hall, New York: Palgrave McMillan.
- Kerevel, Yann and Lonna Rae Atkeson. 2012. "Counting the Ballots: A Comparison of Machine and Hand Counts in New Mexico," in Confirming Elections: Creating Confidence and Integrity through Election Auditing, edited by R. Michael Alvarez, Lonna Rae Atkeson and Thad E. Hall, New York: Palgrave McMillan.

- Bryant, Lisa A. and Lonna Rae Atkeson. 2012. "The Cost of Election Audits: Time and Money," in Confirming Elections: Creating Confidence and Integrity through Election Auditing, edited by R. Michael Alvarez, Lonna Rae Atkeson and Thad E. Hall, New York: Palgrave McMillan.
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Lonna Rae Atkeson and Thad E. Hall. 2012. "Procedural Audits: Utah and Auditing Elections," in Confirming Elections: Creating Confidence and Integrity through Election Auditing, edited by R. Michael Alvarez, Lonna Rae Atkeson and Thad E. Hall, New York: Palgrave McMillan.
- Rocca, Michael, Lonna Rae Atkeson, Yann Kereval and Lisa Bryant. 2010. "Moving from Red to Blue: The 2008 New Mexico Presidential, Senate, and First Congressional District Races," in *The Change Election: Money, Mobilization, and Persuasion in the 2008 Federal Elections*, edited by David Magleby, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Rapoport, Ronald, Kira Allman, Daniel Maliniak, Lonna Rae Atkeson. 2010. ""Internet-ilization of American Parties: The Implications of the Unity08 Effort," in *The State of the Parties*, 6th edition Edited by John Green, Boulder: Roman and Littlefield.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae. 2010. "The State of Survey Research as a Research Tool," in the Oxford Encyclopedia of American Elections and Political Behavior, edited by Jan Leighley, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae. 2010. "Voter Decision-Making on the Heels of Iowa," in *The Rise of the West*, eds. David Patton and Jennifer L. Robinson. Salt Lake City: University of Utah.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae and Cherie D. Maestas. 2009. "Race and the Formation of Attitudes: Responses to Hurricane Katrina," in *Understanding Public Opinion* 3rd Edition, edited by Barbara Norrander and Clyde Wilcox. Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae and Lorraine Tafoya. 2008. "Close, but Not Close Enough: Democrats Lose Again by the Slimmest of Margins in New Mexico's First Congressional District," In *The Battle for Congress: Iraq, Scandal, and Campaign Finance in the 2006 Election*, edited by David Magleby and Kelly Patterson, Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 142-166.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae and Kyle L. Saunders. 2008. "Voter Confidence: A Local Matter?" In *Democracy in the States: Experiments in Elections Reform*, edited by Bruce Cain, Caroline Tolbert, and Todd Donovan. Washington DC: Brookings.

GRANTS: 2018-19 New Mexico Secretary of State, "2018 Election Administration and Security Report," (49,851) National Science Foundation, Emotion Regulation and Extraordinary 2017-18 Political Events" (\$200,000) 2016-17 Bernalillo County, New Mexico 2016, "2016 New Mexico Election Study," (\$49,871) Thornburg Foundation, Santa Fe, New Mexico, "A Look at Campaign 2016-17 Finance in New Mexico," (59000) with Wendy L. Hansen. 2016-2019 New Mexico Department of Transportation, "New Mexico Dust Storm Study," (160,000) Bernalillo County, New Mexico 2014, "2014 New Mexico Election 2014-2015 Ecosystem " (49,763) "Bernalillo County, New Mexico 2012, "2012 New Mexico Election 2012-2013 Administration An Examination of Vote Centers" (47,700) "Pew Charitable Trusts, Center on the States, Turnout and 2011 Mobilization in Low Voter Turnout Projects," (\$12,281) Tom Golisano Foundation, "New Mexico, the Nation and the National 2011 Popular Vote Initiative," (\$66000) 2010-2011 Bernalillo County, New Mexico, "2010 New Mexico Election Administration Report" (\$25000) 2008-2009 JEHT and Pew Charitable Trusts, Center on the States, Make Voting Work Initiative: "Assessing Electoral Performance in New Mexico using an Eco-system Approach," (\$186,000) Faculty Consultant, 2008 New Mexico Federal Elections, Pew 2008 Charitable Trusts Research Allocation Committee Grant, University of New Mexico, 2008

AWARDS:

2015 Society for Political Methodology's Excellence in Mentoring Award

and Mail) Survey Design" (\$4000)

"Assessing Electoral Performance through a Mixed Mode (Internet

| 2013 | Mentoring Award, College of Arts and Sciences, University of New Mexico |
|------|--|
| 2013 | Lucius Barker Award for the best paper, "Latino Descriptive Voting: Evidence in The 2010 Gubernatorial Race in New Mexico," presented at the 2012 Midwest Political Science Association Meeting on Race or Ethnicity |
| 2010 | Jack Taylor Best in Government Award, presented by Common Cause New Mexico Fellowship, Political Methodology Conference, Society for Political Methodology, University of Iowa |
| 2009 | Distinguished Service Award for "Outstanding Initiative in Promoting Election Integrity" presented by Verified Voting New Mexico and United Voters of New Mexico |
| 2008 | Fellowship, Political Methodology Conference, Society for Political Methodology. University Of Michigan |

Public Policy Reports, Amicus Curiae Briefs, encyclopedia entries, blogs, and other non-peer reviewed items:

Atkeson, Lonna Rae and Wendy L. Hansen. 2017. "Albuquerque's Upcoming Election is Unlike the Others," Huffington Post Listen To America Tour, (available at: https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/albuquerques-upcoming-election-is-unlike-the-others_us_59ea6333e4b00f08619ed2db)

Atkeson, Lonna Rae and Wendy L. Hansen. 2017. "The 2017 Campaign Finance Report." Typescript, University of New Mexico. Available at: http://polisci.unm.edu/common/c-sved/papers/2017%20Campaign%20Finance%20Report.pdf

Atkeson, Lonna Rae and Wendy L. Hansen. 2017. The 2016 Bernalillo County Election Administration Report. Typescript, University of New Mexico. Available at: http://polisci.unm.edu/c-sved/2016-bernalillo-county-election-administration-report.pdf

Atkeson, Lonna Rae. 2017. Voter Identification. *Sage Encyclopedia of Political Behavior*, edited by Fathali M. Moghaddam. Thousand Oaks: Sage (forthcoming).

- Alvarez, R. Micahel, Atkeson, Lonna Rae and Thad E. Hall. 2016. "Are U.S. elections 'rigged?' Here's how to help voters believe that they're not, *The Washington Post, The Monkey Cage* (https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/09/28/are-u-s-elections-rigged-heres-how-to-help-voters-feel-confident-that-theyre-not/?postshare=1331475070527091&tid=ss_in)
- Atkeson, Lonna. 2016. "Primary Turnout and the Importance of Party Position." *Mischiefs of Faction*. Vox.com. Available at http://www.vox.com/mischiefs-of-faction/2016/3/24/11301108/presidential-primary-turnout.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae, Alex N. Adams, Charles Stewart and Julia Hellewege. 2015. The 2014 Bernalillo County Election Administration Report. Typescript, University of New Mexico. Available at: https://polisci.unm.edu/common/documents/2014-bernalillo-county-nm-election-administration-report.pdf.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae and R. Michael Alvarez. 2014. Introduction to Political Analysis Mini-Symposium on Advances in Survey Methodology. *Political Analysis* 22(3): 281-284.
 - (Associated Blog: http://blog.oup.com/2014/08/improving-survey-methodology-q-a-with-lonna-atkeson/).
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae, Lisa A. Bryant and Alex N. Adams. 2013. "The 2012 Bernalillo County Election Administration Report. Typescript, University of New Mexico. Available at: http://www.unm.edu/~atkeson/newmexico.html.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae. 2012. "Don't Go Coloring New Mexico Blue Just Yet?" Oped Albuquerque Journal, Sunday, November 18, 2012. (Available at: http://www.abqjournal.com/main/2012/11/18/opinion/dont-go-coloring-nmblue-just-yet.html).
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae.. R. Michael Alvarez. Alex N. Adams, Lisa Bryant. 2011. "The 2010 New Mexico Election Administration Report. Typescript, University of New Mexico. Available at: http://polisci.unm.edu/common/documents/c-sved/papers/nm-2010-general-election.pdf.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae, R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall, Lisa A. Bryant, Yann Kereval, Morgan Llewyllen, David Odegaard. 2009. "The 2008 New Mexico Post Election Audit Report," available at: http://polisci.unm.edu/common/documents/c-sved/papers/nm08pew.pdf

- Atkeson, Lonna Rae, R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall. 2009. "Provisional Voting in New Mexico," Pew Charitable Trusts, The Center for the States, *Provisional Ballots: An Imperfect Solution*.
- Adams, et al. 2009. Statement to the National Institute of Technology regarding Voluntary Voting Standard Guidelines in relation to post election audits, October 2009.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae, Matt A. Barreto, Lorraine C. Minnite, Jonathan Nagler, Stephen A. Nuno and Gabriel Ramon Sanchez, 2009, *Amicus Curiae Social Science Brief to the Indiana Supreme Court*, League of Women Voters of Indiana and leagues of Women Voters of Indianapolis v. Todd Rokita.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae, Alex Adams, Lisa Bryant, Angelina Gonzalez-Aller, Willard Hunter, Yann Kerevel, Kimberly Proctor, Lisa Sanchez and Lori Tafoya. 2010. "The City of Albuquerque 2009 Mayoral Election Administration Report," Available at: http://polisci.unm.edu/common/documents/c-sved/papers/nm-abq-2009-mayor-race.pdf
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae. R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall. 2010. "Assessing Electoral Performance in New Mexico using an Eco-system Approach: New Mexico 2008," Typescript, University of New Mexico. Available at: http://www.unm.edu/~atkeson/newmexico.html

Atkeson, Lonna Rae. 2007-2008. Contributor *The New Mexico Capitol Report*, Edited by Harold Morgan.

COURSES TAUGHT:

| UNDERGRADUATE | GRADUATE |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| Introduction to American Politics | Political Behavior |
| Public Opinion and Political Behavior | American Politics Pro-seminar |
| Women in American Politics | Introduction to Statistics |
| Junior Honors Seminar | Topics in Advanced Research Methods: Linear Structural Equation Modeling |
| Introduction to Political Research | Introduction to Methods of Political Science Research/Scope and Methods |

Survey Methodology Writing for Research

TEACHING & RESEARCH INTERESTS:

Public Opinion & Political Behavior Media & Politics

Campaigns & Elections Gender & Politics

Research Design State Politics/New Mexico

Politics

Election Administration/Public Policy American Politics

Political Parties Political Psychology

Political Methodology/Survey Methodology Race and Ethnicity

MANUSCRIPTS IN PROGRESS:

Atkeson, Lonna Rae and Yann Kerevel. "Dragging the Ticket Down: The Influence of the Vice President on Vote Choice."

Atkeson, Lonna Rae and Cherie D. Maestas. "Diluting the Blame: The Role of Attributions in Accountability."

Adams, Alex N, Lonna Rae Atkeson and Jeff Karp, "Measurement Error in Discontinuous Online Survey Panels: Panel Conditioning and Data Quality, submitted.

Adams, Alex N. and Lonna Rae Atkeson, "Do You See What I see? Panel Effects in the American Panel Study.

Atkeson, Lonna Rae and Alex N. Adams, "The Effect of Election Lines on Turnout and Election Outcomes"

Atkeson, Lonna Rae and Cherie Maestas, "A Comparison of Black and White Attitudes During Extraordinary Events: An Examination of Social Identity Primes."

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES:

Invitations

- "Social Identity Primes and Public Opinion: A comparison of Black and White Attitudes During Extraordinary Events," University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware, March 20, 2017.
- "Voting Convenience Centers," American Bar Association Standing Committee on Election Law Town Hall on Voting Convenience Centers, State Bar of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico, December 1, 2016.
- "The 2016 General Election: Change, Revolution or Status quo? Confessions of a Political Scientist," Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis, Indianapolis, Indiana, November 17, 2016.
- "The Virtues of Election Observation," The National Conference of State Legislatures, Chicago, Illinois, August 7-11, 2016.
- "The Iowa Caucus 2016," the University of Iowa, Iowa City, January 31-February 1, 2016.
- "Data Quality, Professional Respondents and Discontinuous Surveys: Issues of Engagement, Knowledge and Satisficing," The International Methods Colloquium (available at: http://www.methods-colloquium.com/single-post/2015/11/06/Lonna-Atkeson-Data-Quality-Professional-Respondents-and-Discontinuous-Survey-Issues-of-Engagement-Knowledge-and-Satisficing), November 6, 2015.
- "Protecting the Vote: Dialogues on Citizenship, Elections and the Franchise," A Symposium by the University of Kansas, Lawrence Kansas, October 8, 2015.
- Plenary Connecting the Dots: Who Collects Election Data and How are they Doing It? Election Assistance Commission Election Data Summit, August 12-13, American University, Washington DC.
- "The Effect of Election Lines on Turnout: A Case Study in Sandoval County, New Mexico," New Research on Election Administration and Reform, MIT, Cambridge, Mass. June 8, 2015
- "Professional Respondents and Data Quality," Visions in Methodology Conference, University of Kentucky, May 13-16, 2015.
- "Do You See What I see? Panel Affect in The American Panel Study," presented at the St. Louis Area Methods Meeting (SLAMM), Washington University, St. Louis, April 24, 2015.

- "The Effect of Disconfirming Stereotypes on Perceptions of Female Political Leaders in Mexico," presented at the First Annual School of Politics and Global Studies Working Group Conference Women, Media, and Politics: A Comparative Perspective, Arizona State University, April 10-11, 2014.
- "Electoral Competition Workshop," Laguna Beach, California, December 18, 2014.
- Guest Editor, 2014, Symposium on "The State of Survey Research," *Political Analysis* 22(3): 304-320
- Guest Commissioner, The National Commission on Voting Rights Colorado/New Mexico State Hearing, March 7, 2014, Sturm College of Law, University of Denver
- "Measurement Error in Online Survey Panels: Panel Conditioning and Data Quality," presented at the American Panel Survey (TAPS) Workshop, Washington University, St. Louis, November 8-9, 2013
- Visions in Methodology Conference, Florida State University, April 26-27, 2013.
- Electoral Competition Workshop, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia, February 18-22, 2013.
- "Panel Conditioning in Online Panels," Washington University, St. Louis, February 1, 2013.
- "Election Accessibility and Transparency," Measure of Elections Conference, MIT, June 18-19, 2012
- "Catastrophic Politics," February 28-29, 2012, Appalachian State University
- "Comparative Cross National Electoral Research Launch and Workshop," University of Exeter, September 8-9, 2011.
- "Electing the President A Citizen Panel: A Comparison of the Electoral College and the National Popular Vote," Directed 3 meetings with a citizen panel.
- "National Popular Vote Initiative Meeting," San Francisco, California, July 15, 2011.
- "Voter Confidence in 2010," Bush V. Gore, 10 Years Later: Election Administration in the United States, Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine and the Cal Tech/MIT Voting Technology Project, April 16-17, 2011.
- "Election Auditing," Computer Science Department, University of New Mexico, September 17, 2010.

- "Thinking about Politics: The Role of Gender," Metro Federated Republican Women, July 14, 2010, Seasons Restaurant, Albuquerque
- "Gender of Interviewer and Gender-Related Attitudes in Morocco: A Field Experiment" by Lindsay Benstead, Discussant, Society for Political Methodology, University of Iowa, Iowa City, July 22-24, 2010.
- "Who is Asked and Who Asks for Voter ID," UT-Pan Am, April 29, 2010.
- "How Crisis Shapes Attitudes: Hurricane Katrina, External Efficacy and Public Confidence in Government," Visions in Methodology Conference, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, March 18-20. 2010 with Cherie Maestas.
- "New Mexico Politics," US State Department, A Discussion with Foreign Journalists, Albuquerque, NM, January 26, 2010
- "Election Auditing and Statistics," American Statistical Association, Washington DC, October 23-24, 2009.
- "From Red to Blue: The 2008 Federal Elections in New Mexico," presented at The Change Election: Money, Mobilization, and Persuasion in the 2008 Federal Elections, Washington DC, June 22-23, 2009 with Michael Rocca.
- "Auditing the Election Ecosystem," Conference on US Election Reform,"
 University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, May 9-10, 2009, with Thad E. Hall and R.
 Michael Alvarez.
- "Election Audit Workshop," University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, February 9-10, 2009.
- "Thinking Critically about Election Audits," Brookings Institute, Washington DC, January 6, 2009.
- "Principles of Election Audits," presented at Voting in America The Road Ahead, sponsored by Pew Charitable Trusts Center on the States and the JEHT Foundation's Make Voting Work Initiative, Newseum, Washington DC, December 8-10, 2008 with County Clerk Maggie Toulouse Oliver.
- "Election Audits," presented at the National Conference of State Legislatures, New Orleans, Louisiana, July 22, 2008.
- Invited Participant, Political Methodology Conference, Ann Arbor, Michigan, July 9-13, 2008.
- "The Evolution of the Presidential Nominating System," Keynote Speaker, Fulbright Fellowship Seminar, US State Department, March 14, 2008, Bernalillo, New Mexico

"Racing to the Front: The Influence of Presidential Primary Frontloading on Presidential Primary Turnout" at Reforming the Presidential Nomination Process, hosted by the Department of Political Science, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, January 3-4, 2008.

Conference Participation:

- 2018 "Fit for the Job: Candidate Qualifications and Low Information," Midwest Political science Association, Chicago, IL, April 4-7 with Brian Hamel.
- 2018 "Economic Voting in the 2016 Election," Midwest Political science Association, Chicago, IL, April 4-7, with Jacob Altik and Wendy L. Hansen.
- "Paying Attention to Inattentive Survey Respondents," American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 30-September 2,
- Summer Conference on Election Sciences, Program Chair along with Bernard Fraga, Reed College and Portland State University, Portland, OR July 26-28.
- 2017 "Public Opinion and Election Reform," Panel Discussant and Chair, Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 4-6, 2017.
- 2017 "Exploring Voter Overreport and Turnout in Mexico," Southern Political Science Association, January 11-14, 2017, New Orleans, Louisiana, with Yann Kerevel.
- 2016 "Are Voting Centers Convenient?" Midwest Political Science Association, April 7-10, Chicago, Illinois with Lisa Bryant.
- 2016 "The Effect of Continuous Panels on Survey Response," Southern Political Science Association, January 7-9, San Juan, Puerto Rico.
- 2015 "Data Quality in Online Panels," European Survey Research Association, Reykjavik, Iceland, July 13-17.
- 2014 "Easy Versus Hard Issues and Satisficing," International Total Survey Error Workshop, Washington D.C., Washington DC, October 3-4 with Alex Adams.
- "Controlling for Satisficing in Models of Public Opinion," American Political Science Association, Washington D.C. August 28-31 with Alex Adams.

Discussant, "Experiments in Digital Democracy," American Political 2014 Science Association, Washington D.C. August 28-31. 2013 Discussant, The Determinants and consequences of Trust, Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 11-14. 2013 "Intragender gubernatorial Elections: Stereotypes and Vote Choice," presented at the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 11-14. 2012 "Panel Conditioning in Online Panels" presented at the Pacific American Public Opinion Research, San Francisco, CA, December 5-7. "Latino Descriptive Voting: Evidence in The 2010 Gubernatorial 2012 Race in New Mexico," Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2-15, Chicago, Il., with Alex Adams and Shannon Terry. 2012 "Two Challenges in Verification: Poll Workers and the National Popular Vote," Election Verification Network Conference, Santa Fe, NM March 28-30 "Plenary: Taking the Long View," Election Verification Network 2012 Conference, Santa Fe, New Mexico, March 28-30 "Mobilization of Local Voters," State Politics and Policy Meeting, 2012 Houston, Texas, February 16-18 with Lisa Bryant. 2012 Discussant, State Politics and Policy Meeting, Houston, Texas, February 16-18. 2011 "Gender and Legislative Participation in Mexico's Chamber of Deputies Before and After the Adoption of Gender Quotas," Midwest Political Science Association, March 31-April 3, with Yann Kerevel. 2011 "Consolidating Democracy in the Arab World: The Role of Government Satisfaction in Building Popular Support for Democracy" 1st International Conference on Survey Research, "Survey Research in the Gulf: Challenges and Policy Implications" Sponsored by the Social & Economic Survey Research Institute (SESRI), Qatar University, Doha, Qatar, February 27- March 1, 2011, with Lindsay Benstead. 2010 "Attribution of Blame and Hurricane Katrina" presented at the American Political Science Association, Washington DC, September

2-5.

2010 "Assessing Data Quality across Probability Samples: An Examination of a Post General Election Mixed-Mode (Internet and Mail) and Telephone Survey," presented at the American Association of Public Opinion Research, May 13-16, Chicago, Illinois with Alex N. Adams and R. Michael Alvarez. 2010 "Who Asks for Voter ID," Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association, April 22-25, Chicago, Illinois with Yann Kerevel. 2010 "Mixed Mode (Internet and Mail) Probability Samples and Survey Representativeness: The Case of New Mexico 2008," presented at the Western Political Science Association, April 1-3, San Francisco, California, with Alex N. Adams. 2010 "Elections and Happiness: The Effect of Electoral Institutions on Life Satisfaction," presented at the Western Political Science Association, April 1-3, San Francisco, California, with Alex N. Adams. 2009 "Affective Attributions: Shock, Anxiety, and Attribution of Blame during Crisis Events," presented at the American Political Science Association, September 2-5, Toronto, Canada, with Cherie Maestas. 2009 "Do Vice Presidents influence Vote choice?" presented at the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago Illinois, April 1-4, with Yann Kerevel and Lisa Bryant. 2009 "Are They the Same or Different? An Examination of Trust in Government, External Efficacy and Voter Confidence" Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago Illinois, April 1-4, with R. Michael Alvarez and Thad E. Hall. "External Efficacy and Hurricane Katrina," presented at the American 2008 Political Science Association, Boston, Massachusetts," August, with Cherie D. Maestas. 2008 "Election Auditing," presented at the American Political Science Association, Boston, Massachusetts August 2008 with R. Michael Alvarez, Thad Hall, Lisa Bryant, Yann Kerevel, Morgan Llewellyn. 2008 "Voter Attitudes toward Voter Identification," presented at the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2-4, 2008, Chicago, Illinois. "New Barriers to Participation: An Examination of the Application of 2007 Voter ID Laws in New Mexico's 2006 Election" presented at the

American Political Science Association, August 29-September 2,

Chicago, Illinois, with Lisa Bryant, Kyle Saunders, Thad Hall, R. Michael Alvarez.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE:

Selected Media Appearances and Interviews:

KOBTV, Santa Fe Municipal Election, March 6, 2018

KOBTV, Albuquerque Election Night Coverage, November 14, 2017

KNME, In-Focus New Mexico Politics, September 5,

KOBTV, NBC Affiliate, Election Analyst, Primary Night, Convention Coverage, Debate Coverage, and Election Night Commentary

KNME, In-Focus New Mexico Politics, June 9

- KRCW, NPR, *Background Briefing with Ian Masters*, May 26, 2016, (http://ianmasters.com/sites/default/files/mp3/bbriefing 2016 05 25full aud ioport.mp3)
- KSFR, Santa Fe Radio Café, "On Disenfranchised Voters in New Mexico and Beyond," May 3, 2016, (http://ksfr.org/post/may-3-unm-professor-lonna-atkeson-disenfranchised-voters-new-mexico-and-beyond#stream/0)
- KPCC, *Airtalk*, "Are Voter Registration Rules Like New York Suppressing Votes?" April 19, 2016 (http://www.scpr.org/programs/airtalk/2016/04/19/48086/are-voter-registration-rules-like-new-yorks-suppre/)
- NPR, *All Things Considered*, April 4, 2016, "Once Ruled By Washington Insiders, Campaign Finance Reform Goes Grass Roots" (http://www.npr.org/2016/04/04/473005036/once-ruled-by-washington-insiders-campaign-finance-reform-goes-grassroots)
- KPCC, *Airtalk*, "Long lines and flawed lists mar presidential primaries in Arizona and beyond," March 24, 2016 (http://www.scpr.org/programs/airtalk/2016/03/24/47472/long-lines-and-flawed-lists-mar-presidential-prima/)

KNME, In Focus New Mexico Politics, November 7, 2014

KNME, Election Night Coverage, November 4, 2014

KUNM, Call in Show, October 30, 2014

KUNM, Local NPR, August 15, 2013

KNME, In Focus New Mexico, February 7, 2013, April 2014

KNME, State of the State Address, January 14, 2013

KUNM, In Focus New Mexico, February 24, 2012

KUNM, NPR, *In Focus New Mexico*, Legislative Politics and Election Reform, March 1, 2011

KRQE, State of the State Address, January 19, 2011

KNME, State of the State Address, January 17, 2011

KNME Election Night Coverage, November 2, 2010

National Public Radio, All Things Considered, June 8, 2010

KNME Interview, In Focus New Mexico Politics, June 5, 2008; January 8, 2010; May 2010; August 21, 2010, October 2010, March 2 2011

KSFR Interview, *National Public Radio*, Voter Identification Study, February 2009.

PBS Interview, In Focus, New Mexico Politics, November 6, 2008

PBS Interview, The Line, CD3 Debate Coverage, October, 2008

PBS Interview, The Line, CD1 Debate Coverage, October, 2008

PBS Interviewer, Expert Guest, *Lehrer News*, New Mexico Coverage, October 2008

KNBC Guest, Eye on New Mexico, September, 2008

KOAT *Primary Nightly News & Election Report*, Primary Election Expert, June 3, 2008.

Meet the Press, Divisive Primary Research Discussed by Tim Russert, April 1, 2008

KNME PBS Interview, In Focus: New Mexico Politics, March 2008

PBS Interview, The Line: Super Tuesday, February 5, 2008, KNME.

PBS Interview, The Line: January 21, 2008.

Numerous (100s of) interviews with local, national and international print, radio, and TV journalists (1996-2018)

(Outlets include (selected list): Huffington Post, National Public Radio Minnesota Public Radio, New Mexico Public Radio, Washington Post, New York Times, Vermont Public Radio, The News Hour, Salon.com, The Nation, USA Today, Albuquerque Journal, Albuquerque Tribune, Santa Fe New Mexican, Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, Atlanta Journal Constitution, Denver Post, AP Reporters, New Mexico Independent, BBC, the Washington Monthly, ABC News, Delaware Talk News, Congressional Quarterly, etc.)

Department/University Committee Work/Service:

Executive Committee, AY 2012-13, 2015-16

Provost Promotion and Tenure Committee AY 2014-15

Graduate Committee, AY 2012-13

On-line Class Committee, Fall 2010, Spring 2011

Senate Graduate Committee, Fall 2006-Spring 2008

Chair, University Honorary Degree Committee, AY 2006-07, 2007-08

Ph.D. Dissertation Committees:

Alex Adams (Chair)

Clifford C. Clogg Award, ICPSR, 2010

Holly Garnett (External Reviewer, PhD Spring 2017, McGill University)

Title: Strengthening Electoral Integrity through Electoral

Management

Julia Hellwege (Chair, PhD Summer 2016)

Ted Robinson Memorial Award for the best research proposal by a graduate student in the field of minority politics
Assistant Professor, University of South Dakota
Title: Constituency, Identity, and Surrogate Substantive
Representation: Minority Women in U.S. State Legislatures

Kim Proctor (Chair, PhD Spring 2016)

Janet Box-Steffensmeier ICPSR Summer Fellowship Award, 2010

Senior Scientist, Health and Human Services

Justin Delacour (Chair, PhD, May 2014)
Assistant Professor, Lewis University, Romeo, Illinois

Lisa Bryant (Chair, PhD Summer 2014)
Assistant Professor California State University - Fresno

Yann Kerevel (Chair, PhD Summer 2012) Assistant Professor Louisiana State University IFES Fellowship Summer 2009

Elizabeth Wemlinger (PhD, July 2011, University of North Carolina, Charlotte)

Prakash Adhikari (PhD, July 2011)
Assistant Professor, Central Michigan University
Received Popejoy Dissertation Award, 2013

Undergraduate Honors Theses

David Odegard 2009 (Chair) Daniel Apodaca 2011 (Chair) Joel Ames 2013 (Chair) Manuscript Referee/Editorial Boards (30+/year):

American Political Science Review British Journal of Politics

American Journal of Political Science Politics and Policy

American Politics Quarterly Gender and Politics

Political Research Quarterly Political Analysis

Editorial Board Member, 2013-2016 Guest Editor 2016, AE 2017-2020

American Politics Review Social Science Quarterly

Journal of Politics State Politics and Policy Quarterly

Editorial Board Member, 2009-2014 Editorial Board Member, 2001-2003

Legislative Studies Quarterly Perspectives on Politics

The Policy Studies Journal Political Behavior

Editorial Board Member, 2014-2020

Women and Politics Electoral Studies

Journal of Theoretical Politics Southeastern Political Review

Journal of Elections, Public Opinion Journal of Women, Politics and

and Parties Policy

Field Methods

European Journal of Political Research Public Opinion Quarterly

Comparative Political Studies International Journal of Public

Opinion Quarterly

Political Parties and Identities

Social Science Research

Sociological Methods
PS: Politics and Political Science

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Political Psychology

Statistics, Politics and Policy

Grant Referee:

National Science Foundation, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2013 (Fall & Spring)

Time-sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences, 2003, 2010

Board of Directors Membership

MIT Election Data Science Lab 2016-Present Local Election Office Survey Advisory Board 2018

Associations and Association Service:

American Political Science Association

Chair, Emerging Scholar Committee Elections, Voting Behavior and Public Opinion 2017

Chair, EE Schattschneider Best Dissertation Award Committee 2014-15 Gladys M. Kammerer Award Committee, 2012-13

Section Chair, Political Methodology, 2012

Member, 2007 APSA Sullivan Award Committee (Best Graduate Student Paper), Public Opinion and Voting Behavior

Member, 2007 APSA Best Paper Award Committee Elections, Public Opinion and Voting Behavior,

Council Member, Political Organizations and Parties, 2006-2008 Section Chair, Society for Political Methodology, 2012

Election Science and Reform Association

Program Chair, ESRA First Annual Conference, Portland, OR, July 26-28, 2017

Southern Political Science Association

V.O. Key Book Award Committee 2017-18

Program Committee, 2016

Nominations Committee, 2016

Editorial Board Member, Journal of Politics, 2009-2013

Chair, Best Article in Journal of Politics 2015

American Association for Public Opinion Research

International Society for Political Psychology

Western Political Science Association

Politics, Groups and Identities Editor Search Committee 2015 Midwest Political Science Association

MPSA Pi Sigma Award Committee, Best Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting in 2015, 2015-16

Society For Political Methodology

Chair, Emerging Scholar Award Committee 2017

Associate Editor, Political Analysis 2017-2020.

Member, Political Methodology Lifetime Career Award 2014-15, 2015-2016, 2016-17

Member-at-large, Society for Political Methodology, 2014-17

Section Chair, Political Methodology 2012

Member, Long Range Planning Committee, 2010-2012

Member, Committee on Undergraduate and Graduate Methods, Society for Political Methodology, 2008-2013

Chair, Committee on Undergraduate and Graduate Methods, Society for Political Methodology, 2006-2007

Southwestern Political Science Association Election Verification Network

Other Service:

Reviewer, Tenure and Promotion files, University of Kentucky, University of Georgia, Colorado State University, University of North Carolina-Charlotte, University of Texas Austin, Kent State University, American University, University of North Texas, University of New Hampshire

Community Service (selected):

Speaker, League of Women Voters Santa Fe, March 2016

Guest Commissioner, National Voting Rights Hearing for Colorado/New Mexico, Denver, January, 2014

Speaker, League of Women Voters, January 2013

Speaker, Women's Press of Albuquerque, December 2012

Judge, We the People Civics Contest, December 11, 2010 Capitol Building, Santa Fe, New Mexico

Speaker, Albuquerque Republican Federation of Women, July 2010

Speaker, Women's Press of Albuquerque, November, 2008

PBS Town Hall Meeting with Lehrer News, Panelist, October 2008

OTHER EXPERIENCE:

Expert Witness, Greater Birmingham Ministries, et al., v. John Merrill, C.A. No. 2:15-cv-02193-LSC, 2015-2018

Consultant, IFC, Election Administration and Voting Survey, Election Administration Commission, 2014-16

Consultant, Fors Marsh Group, Overseas Voter Project, 2015-17

Expert Witness, Fleming et al. v. Gutierrez, et al., 1:13-cv-00222 WJ-RHS (D. N.M., 2014)

Expert Report, *Baca v. Berry*, No. 13CV0076, 2014 WL 11430906 (D. N.M. Aug. 29, 2014)

Consultant, SBG & FMG, Federal Voting Assistance Program, 2013-15

Expert Witness, Bernalillo County Metropolitan Detention Center, October 2012